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ABSTRACT

This two-part document written for secondary school Canadian students analyzes Canadian government immigration policies. The first and major part of the booklet discusses forces such as ethnic origins, the economics of immigration, humanitarian immigration, public attitudes toward immigration, and the impact of immigration on economic growth. The section addresses the issues of quotas and prohibition of immigration in the face of native unemployment, limitations by education or job skills, and enforced geographic location of immigrants. The impact of immigration on Canada's population base, on the size, structure, and composition of the labor force, and on sectors of the national economy are also analyzed. Tables illustrate ethnic origins of the population from 1871 to 1971, immigrants from 1852-1976, estimated population growth, immigration by occupational group, humanitarian immigration (Hungarian, Czechoslovakian, Tibetan, Chilean, Vietnamese, and Cambodian refugees), and immigrant components of the Canadian population and the labor force. The second section discusses pre-World War I laws designed to encourage settlement in the west. The 1967 White Paper on Immigration and the Report of the Canadian Immigration and Population Study are also analyzed. (KC)

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"Understanding Economics" Series

Understanding Canadian Immigration

Constantine Passaris

SP-011174

The Canadian Foundation for Economic Education 1978

Preface

Immigration policy has been one of the most widely publicized economic and political issues in Canada during the last five years.

It is an issue on which everyone feels entitled and qualified to express an opinion because the consequences of major immigration decisions are noted quickly and often emotionally – not only by people whose families have been in Canada for many generations but by the most recently arrived families themselves.

The parent whose child's classroom is suddenly comprised of more than 50% recently arrived immigrants may welcome the educational opportunity that is presented or may be perturbed by the possibility of lack of understanding between the groups.

The construction worker who is laid off may wonder why Canada is opening its door to *anyone* during a time of serious unemployment.

The taxpayer may wonder about Canada's high-cost social insurance benefits which are extended to immigrants and their families – in one form or another – from the moment they arrive in Canada.

Professional and academic groups have deplored in turn the departure of highly educated specialists from Canada and the arrival of equally qualified people to this country.

On a less personal but still emotional plane, there are polarized views on Canada's responsibility towards the Third World and deeply ingrained difference of opinion regarding our potential capacity to assume that responsibility. What are Canada's responsibilities towards the developing countries? To what extent should we encourage immigrants from that World?

In *The Future of an Affluent Society: The Case of Canada* (The Ecologist, June 1977), Edward Goldsmith points out the disparity between Canada as seen by some as a cornucopia of wealth and by others as a blind fool in the light of increased population and urban development, limited economic growth and dwindling natural resources.

Immigration policy has always been an important factor in the history of Canada's growth and development and there have always been disagreements about it. It is a subject of interest and dissension because many see an open-door immigration policy for Canada as an unselfish and "global" way to assuage the world's ills. Others see it as a fast road to economic disaster and social disruption.

UNDERSTANDING CANADIAN IMMIGRATION, the 6th in our "Understanding Economics" Series is in two main sections. The first tries to explain the forces that have led government to encourage immigration at certain times and to discourage it at others.

Although there have been a number of occasions when "humanitarian immigration" has been the key, Canadian economic considerations have provided the main backdrop against which the government has tooled, adapted and revised immigrant quotas and criteria – all reflecting different needs at different times.

Because we sought critical comment from different people and interest groups before going to press, we feel that a difficult and controversial subject has received objective and unbiased treatment. We hope that it provokes the thought and discussion that the issue deserves in an educational environment.

The Evolution of Canadian Immigration Policy is the second section of the booklet. Rather than being a full discription of the four major Canadian immigration acts, it points out the main revisions in the context of our country's economic growth, development and needs, covered in the earlier section.

Constantine Passaris is an assistant professor of economics at the University of New Brunswick and writes regularly for the **Daily Gleaner** in N.B., as well as for the **Atlantic Advocate**, the **Atlantic Economic Journal** and **International Perspectives**. He contributed a chapter on *The Economics of Immigration* to G.C. Ruggeri's book on **The Canadian Economy: Problems and Policies**.

For the last year, he has been on sabbatical leave in England at the University of Leicester in the Public Sector Economics Research Centre.

J. Harvey Perry

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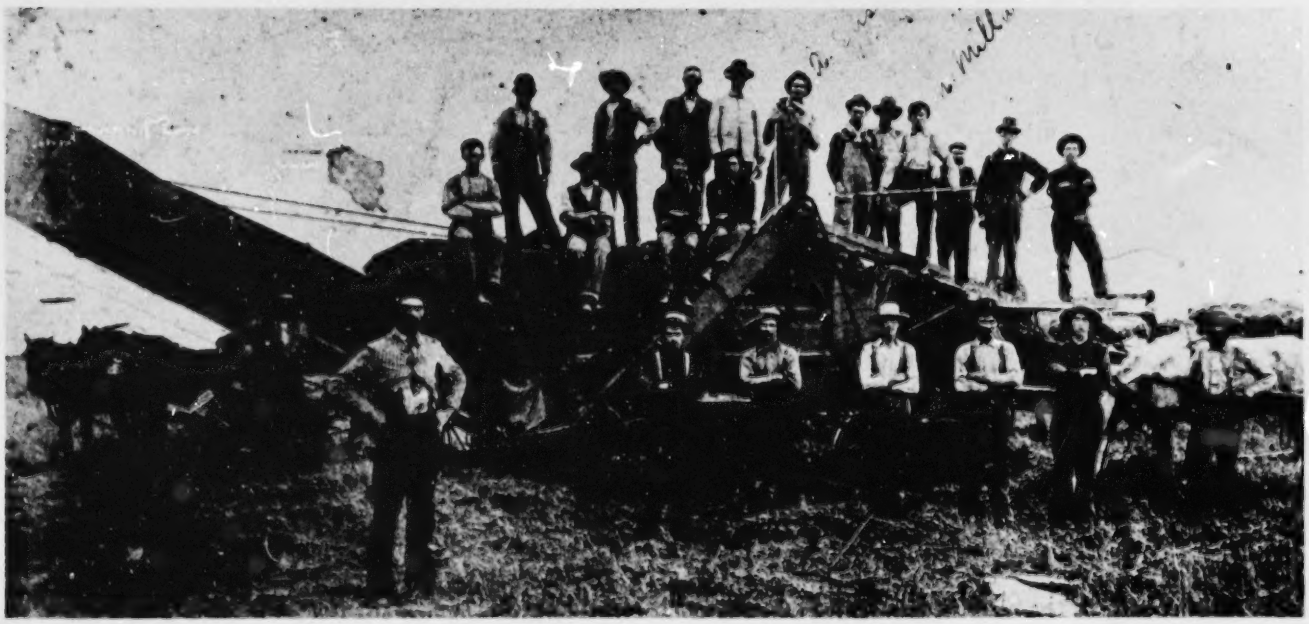


In the early 1900s the wheat boom in the west was made possible through the influx of immigrant farmers to Canada.

Introduction

Few aspects of the human character are more intriguing than the age-old desire to move on to new lands and frontiers. The far horizon has been a perpetual invitation to mankind over the centuries.

The most dramatic example of response to this powerful appeal has been the filling up of North America, after its discovery as the "New World". In four centuries a vast nearly empty continent has become a mature and affluent civilization. Nearly everyone living in the United States and Canada today is a descendant of immigrants who came from many parts of the world. The sole exceptions are the native peoples, and even they probably migrated from some other continent.

Mass population movements are both older and newer than the greening of America. The Bible tells of many such events, the most dramatic being the flight of the Israelites from Egypt to their traditional home, described as "land flowing with milk and honey". The return of Jewish people to the same land in the recent past is a striking and controversial modern instance. In many parts of the world, vast numbers of workers and others have left their homes for new lives in more prosperous surroundings.

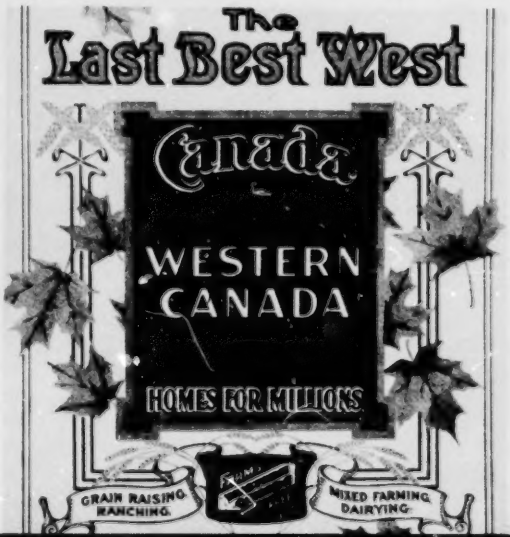
In postwar Europe alone there have been millions of such immigrants, concentrating in the countries where jobs are plentiful (for example, Italian workers in Germany). The ease of mobility through modern transportation has made the whole world a melting pot of humanity.

The consequences of all this movement have been enormous. Its economic, cultural, geographical and demographic impact has been incalculable. Few forces have moulded the world, as we know it, more powerfully. As the Hon. Robert Andras, then Minister of Manpower and Immigration* once stated: "Canada, as it exists today, has been built largely by immigrants. The Canada of tomorrow will be shaped by the decisions Canadians make about the direction immigration policy should follow."

No one living today in any large Canadian city – nor for that matter in many smaller communities – need be reminded of this fact. The ease of long distance travel from far-off lands has brought many people of different nationalities to Canada. Today, very recent arrivals from some countries number in the hundreds of thousands.

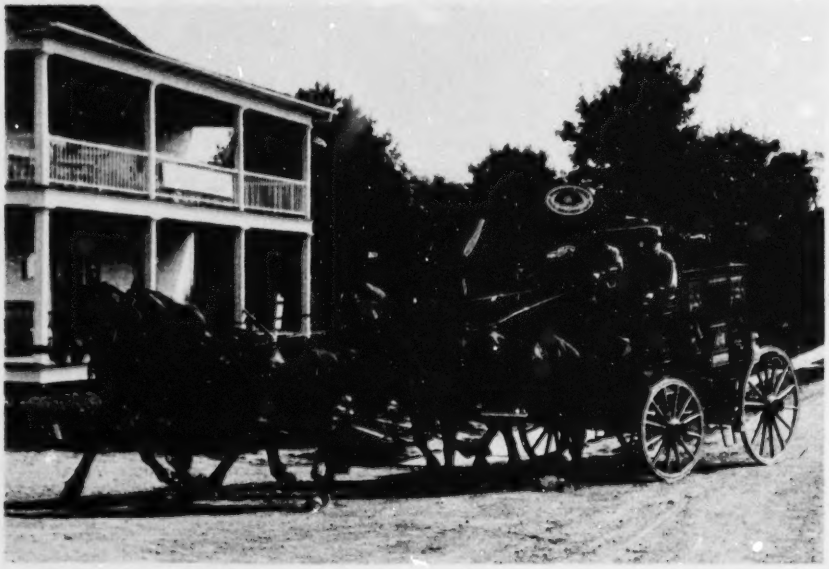
The issues created by immigration today are complex. Early settlers coming to Canada faced mainly the harsh realities of wresting a living from a virgin land. There were great dangers, and hardships, and their story has often been told. Indeed at the present time they are the subject of a Canadian television series. However, these problems were largely physical and could be surmounted with effort. Many succumbed, but those that survived quickly became the dominant cultural group.

While the immigrant faces less severe physical problems today his (or her) adjustment is equally as challenging. He (or she) must cope with a new economic background, one much more complex and confusing than that of a century ago. And in addition he must adapt to an established culture and probably a different language, both of which will govern nearly every action he takes. At the same time the immigrant has a shock effect on existing society. Because he represents customs and attitudes that are often in sharp contrast to accepted modes, tensions can arise – misunderstanding and occasionally hostility. He also frequently creates very substantial demands for new services or major changes in existing services; the point is well illustrated by the fact that in the core area of Toronto more than half the children attending school do not have English as their native language.



*In August 1977 this Department joined with the Unemployment Insurance Commission and became the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission.

Some scenes from the Imperial Oil films, '1740', '1832' and '1847' in THE NEWCOMERS series, which highlight the challenges facing immigrants to the new world and tell of the dangers and hardships many experienced during those years when building a new life in Canada.



The Canadian Government offered free 160-acre farms to emigrants to encourage them to seek a new life in the wide-open west.

Table 1

Ethnic Origins of the Population
Census dates, 1871 – 1971

(000)

	1871	1881	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971
Total European(1)	3,433	4,147	5,171	7,006	8,569	10,134	11,243	13,583	17,654	20,764
French	1,083	1,299	1,649	2,062	2,453	2,928	3,483	4,319	5,540	6,180
English	706	881	1,261	1,871	2,545	2,741	2,968	3,630	4,195	
Irish	846	957	989	1,075	1,108	1,231	1,268	1,440	1,753	9,624
Scottish	550	700	800	1,027	1,174	1,346	1,404	1,547	1,902	
Other British	8	10	13	26	42	62	76	92	146	
German	203	254	311	403	295	474	465	620	1,050	1,317
Italian	1	2	11	46	67	98	113	152	450	731
Jewish	-	1	16	76	126	157	170	182	173	297
Dutch	30	30	31	56	118	149	213	264	430	426
Polish	-	-	6	34	53	146	167	220	324	316
Russian	1(2)	1(2)	20	44	100	88	84	91	119	64
Scandanavian(3)	2	5	31	113	168	227	244	283	387	385
Ukranian	-	-	6	75	107	225	306	395	473	581
Other European	4	6	24	99	214	261	284	346	711	842
Asiatic										
Chinese	-	4	17	28	40	47	35	33	58	119
Japanese	-		5	9	16	23	23	22	29	37
Other Asiatic	-	-	2	6	10	15	16	19	34	129
Indians & Eskimos	3	109	128	106	114	129	126	166	220	313
Other & Unknown	29	65	49	52	39	29	64(4)	188	242	206
Total – Canada(1)	3,486	4,325	5,371	7,207	8,788	10,377	11,507	14,009	18,238	21,568
% European	98.5	95.9	96.2	97.2	97.5	97.7	97.7	97.0	96.8	96.2

(1) Individual components may not sum to totals due to rounding
(2) Includes Finnish & Polish
(3) Includes Danish, Icelandic, Norwegian, Swedish
(4) Includes 35,417 Metis

Sources: Urquhart, M.C., Ed. **Historical Statistics of Canada. Toronto, Macmillan, 1971.**
Statistics Canada, **1971 Census of Canada.** Catalogue no. 92-723. Vol. 1. Part 3.

Background and Underlying Forces

Ethnic Origins

Much of the impact of immigration depends on the existing population mosaic of the country. Many immigrants fit in readily. An interesting by-product of the census taken every ten years in Canada is the attempt that has been made to keep a record of ethnic origins of the population. As time goes by this becomes more of a guessing game than an accurate record, but it does yield results that are broadly indicative. Most people are aware of the country of birth of their parents or grandparents – some in fact proudly aware – and could answer a question as to racial origin with reasonable accuracy.

The census gives some 35 individual categories – too many to reproduce here. In Table 1 we have given 18 major items, mainly to reflect present concentrations rather than past.

With a proportion in the range of 96-97 per cent it is clear that Canada is populated mainly by descendants of European immigrants. This is partly an accident of history and partly the result of our laws, which have favoured such immigration.

However, under immigration laws in effect since 1962 a change in immigration patterns has taken place, which if continued would in time affect ethnic origins. In fiscal year 1976-77 for example, there were 47,721 immigrants from Europe and 77,993 from other areas of the world (excluding the United States). Thus non-European immigration was nearly double the European that year. Canada has received 150,000 to 200,000 immigrants in many recent years. (See Table 2) This may not seem a massive problem, being a flow equal to only about one per cent of our population. Furthermore,

Table 2
Immigration by Calendar Year, 1852 - 1976

1852	29,307	1884	103,824	1916	55,914	1948	125,414
1853	29,464	1885	79,169	1917	72,910	1949	95,217
1854	37,263	1886	69,152	1918	41,845	1950	73,912
1855	25,296	1887	84,526	1919	107,698	1951	194,391
1856	22,544	1888	88,766	1920	138,824	1952	164,498
1857	33,854	1889	91,600	1921	91,728	1953	168,868
1858	12,339	1890	75,067	1922	64,224	1954	154,227
1859	6,300	1891	82,165	1923	133,729	1955	109,946
1860	6,276	1892	30,996	1924	124,164	1956	164,857
1861	13,589	1893	29,633	1925	84,907	1957	282,164
1862	18,294	1894	20,829	1926	135,982	1958	124,851
1863	21,000	1895	18,790	1927	158,886	1959	106,928
1864	24,779	1896	16,835	1928	166,783	1960	104,111
1865	18,958	1897	21,716	1929	164,993	1961	71,689
1866	11,427	1898	31,900	1930	104,806	1962	74,586
1867	10,666	1899	44,543	1931	27,530	1963	93,151
1868	12,765	1900	41,681	1932	20,591	1964	112,606
1869	18,630	1901	55,747	1933	14,382	1965	146,758
1870	24,706	1902	89,102	1934	12,476	1966	194,743
1871	27,773	1903	138,669	1935	11,277	1967	222,876
1872	36,578	1904	131,252	1936	11,643	1968	183,974
1873	50,050	1905	141,465	1937	15,101	1969	161,531
1874	39,373	1906	211,653	1938	17,244	1970	147,713
1875	27,382	1907	272,409	1939	16,994	1971	121,900
1876	25,633	1908	143,326	1940	11,324	1972	122,006
1877	27,832	1909	173,694	1941	9,329	1973	184,200
1878	29,807	1910	286,839	1942	7,576	1974	218,465
1879	40,492	1911	331,288	1943	8,504	1975	187,881
1880	38,505	1912	375,756	1944	12,801	1976	149,429
1881	47,991	1913	400,870	1945	22,722		
1882	112,458	1914	150,484	1946	71,719		
1883	133,624	1915	36,665	1947	64,127		

Source: Department of Manpower & Immigration. **Immigration Statistics.**

this inward flow has been offset by an outward emigration. (See Table 5 - Page 21). However, when total net migration in the five years 1967 to 1971 is seen as slightly more than the population of the City of Vancouver, it takes on a different perspective. The problem is even intensified in Canada by the existence of two basic cultures – French and English – between which the immigrant must choose.

Immigration is inevitable. Without it Canada as we know it today would not exist. Our lives have been enriched by the mingling of cultures from all parts of the world. But these generalizations are not of much value in reaching decisions on some of the basic policy questions that have to be answered in practical terms.

How many immigrants should we admit each year? Should this be related to some long-run objective for Canada's population? Should there be quotas or prohibitions to control the flow of immigrants by nationality? Should the flow be reduced when the economy is depressed and many in the present population are unemployed? Should there be limitations by degree of education, by job skills or other economic characteristics? Should immigrants be directed to certain parts of the country and away from other parts? Should immigrants be encouraged to retain their own language and culture or should they be expected to conform to Canadian ways?

These and many other perplexing questions surround the whole subject. And they are neither new nor recent issues, as it is easy to assume. The following quotations, giving contrasting points of view, are from the early years of the century.

"The cry against the Doukhobors and Galacians is the most absolutely ignorant and absurd thing that I have ever known in political life. There is simply no question in regard to the advantage of these (immigrant) people, and I do not think there is anyone in the north-west who is so stupid as not to know it."

Sir Clifford Sifton, a former Minister of the Interior writing to J. W. Dafoe, Editor of the **Manitoba Free Press** in 1907.

"Canada today faces the greatest immigration problem that has ever confronted any nation . . . One man out of every five to land on our shore is a foreigner. He comes here with a foreign tongue, foreign ideals, foreign religion, often a mere caricature of religion, with centuries of grievances and oppression behind him, often bringing with him problems that the best statesmen of Europe have failed to solve . . ."

A statement made in 1913 by the Reverend W. D. Reid of Montreal

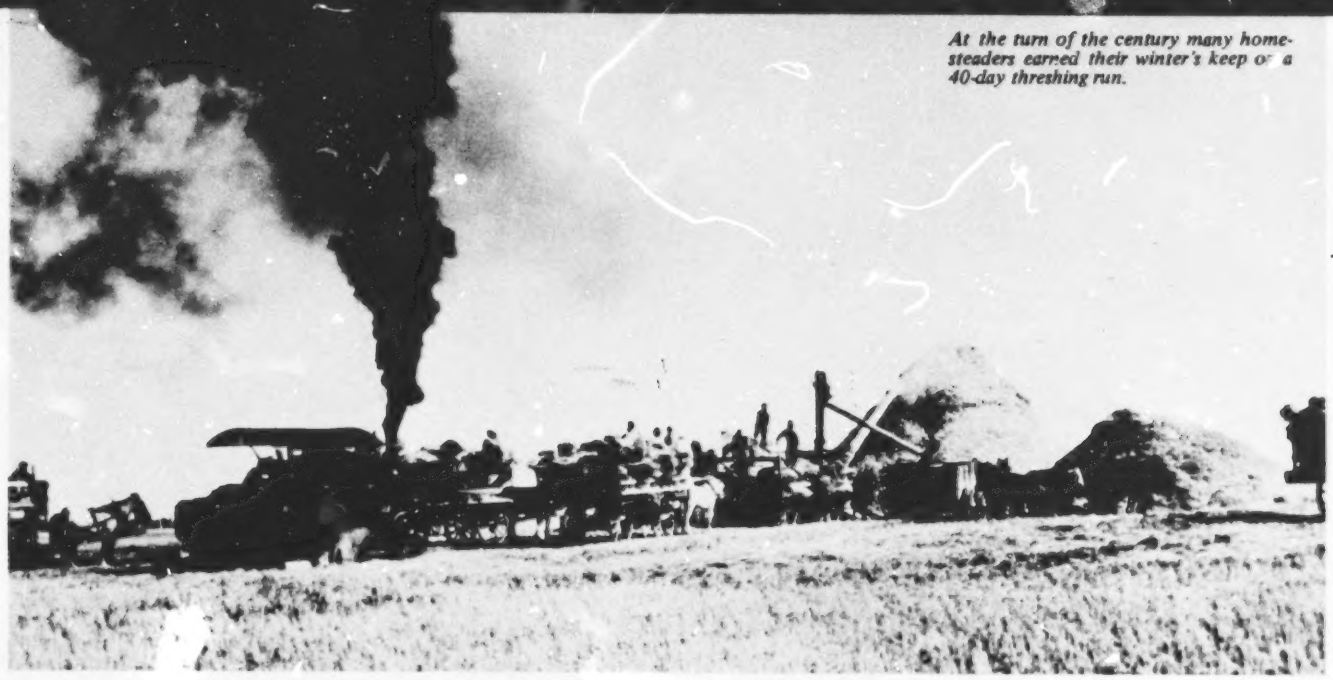
The latter statement no doubt reflects the concern over the massive influx of immigrants that took place immediately prior to World War I, when the wheat economy of the west was being opened. In every year between 1910 and 1913 immigration exceeded 200,000 reaching 400,000 in 1913. In these four years there were nearly as many immigrants as there have been in the last nine. Not all of them stayed in Canada, because the ultimate goal for many was the United States. However, many of them did, and, as we have seen, their descendants are still the basic ethnic groups in some parts of Canada. Obviously the historical perspective is essential for an understanding of this subject.

In what follows we do not attempt to deal with all sides of this complex issue. We are of course mainly interested in the economic aspects of immigration. Here we must consider the economic factors that have stimulated immigration and the economic results that have flowed from it. This leads into an equally important side of the question – our country's attitude towards immigration as expressed from time to time in the rules that govern the inflow. This is crucial. Like all countries, Canada has laws and regulations that control in detail the number and qualifications of persons being admitted from outside the country. In the end, the kind of immigration we have depends on these laws. We deal with this aspect in a separate later section.

The present is particularly timely for this subject. Last summer (1977) saw the culmination of an extensive review of all sides of the question by the federal parliament, involving draft proposals, public hearings and protracted debate over several years. These led to the adoption of fairly substantial changes reflecting the current mood of the country. We are therefore entering on another new phase of this age-old issue.

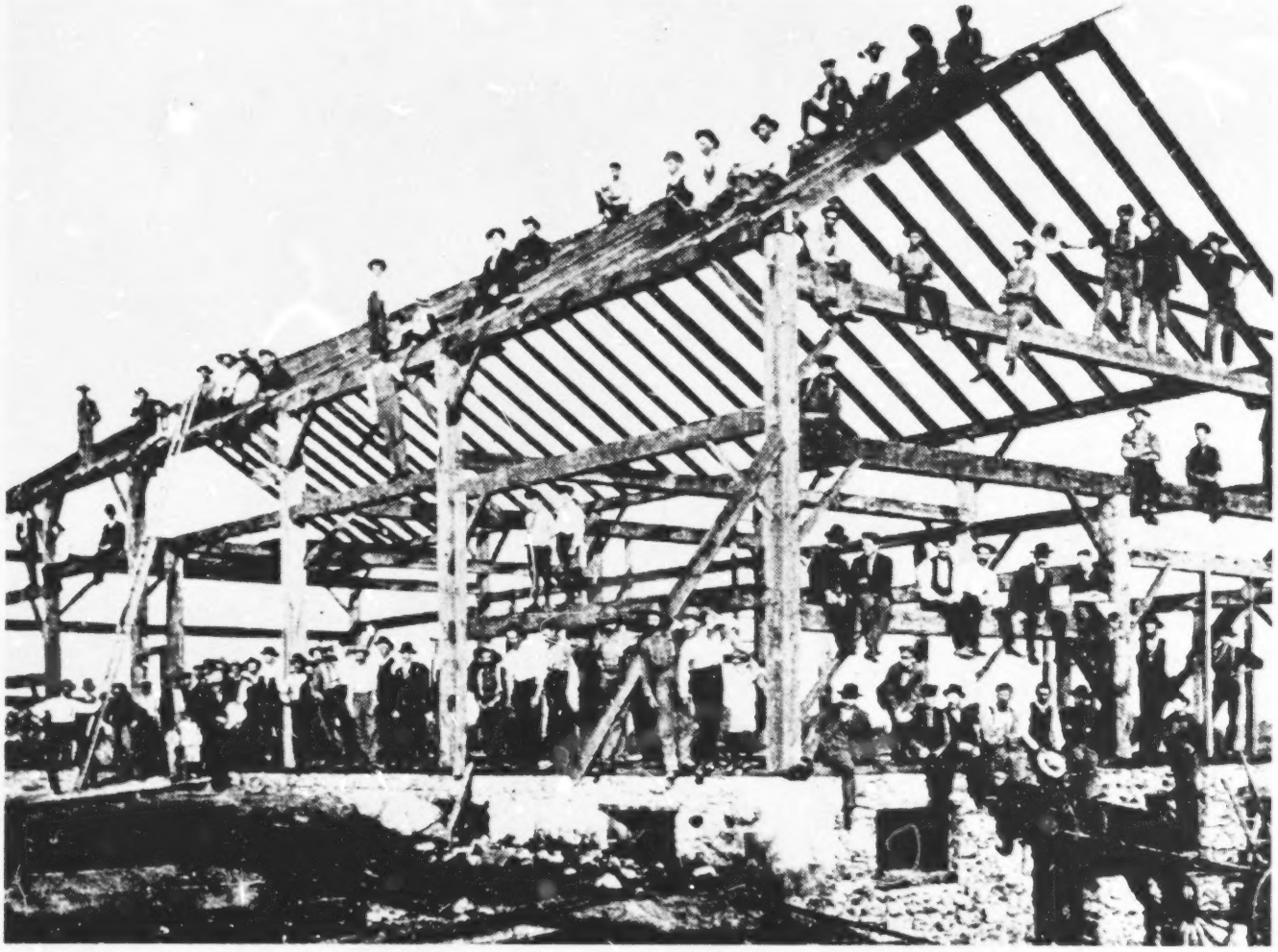
Families left their homes in their own countries of birth and came to settle the Canadian frontier.

Ancestor of the prairie stucco. Where wood was scarce because of prairie fires, the pioneer's first home was a 'soddie'. Thick sod walls kept these homes warm in the winter and cool in the summer.



At the turn of the century many homesteaders earned their winter's keep on a 40-day threshing run.

Tremendous construction activity was triggered by the urgent need for housing to accommodate the thousands of immigrants from overseas and those who left their homes in Upper and Lower Canada for the west.



The Economics of Immigration

The first signs of settlement in Canada had an economic base. The earliest attempts at colonization date back to the sixteenth century and related to the fishing industry, then thriving off the coasts of Newfoundland. At that time British, French and Portuguese ships competed among each other for the valuable marine resources off the Grand Banks. The first immigration to this part of the New World originated with the fishing crews which were sometimes left to winter along the rugged Newfoundland coastline to build a base for next summer's fishing activities.

Economic motivation had much to do as well with later settlement on the banks of the lower St. Lawrence River. The early explorers of this new found land, such as John Cabot, Jacques Cartier, Champlain, La Salle and other pioneers in Canadian history came from countries where the economics of what was known as "mercantilism" mainly motivated population movements. In its simplest form mercantilism stated that the acquisition and population of the colonies were useful inasmuch as they would contribute to the material well-being of the mother country. Specifically, the two foremost economic advantages of mercantilism were access to raw materials and a captive market for finished products.

Consistent with this policy, in subsequent years both France and England adopted explicit programs which encouraged individuals and their families to come and settle in the sparsely populated colonies. This was both to strengthen the colonies militarily and to provide a basis for the exploitation of the abundant natural resources. Early economic activity was closely tied to natural resources easily obtainable, such as fish, fur and lumber. These were taken across the Atlantic in vast quantities. No attempt was made to encourage industry or independent trade in the colonies – in fact the reverse was true. It was the growth of an embryonic industry and the attempts of the mother country to discourage it that, in part, led to the rebellion of the American colonies against British rule in 1776.

With the defection of the American colonies and under the attacks of Adam Smith and other economists mercantilism gave way in Britain to a much different attitude towards trade. By the time that Canada achieved Confederation, Britain had moved very strongly towards freer trade and ready movement of capital between countries and had already invested substantially in transportation and industry in British North America. Much of the subsequent opening up of western Canada reflected the interest of British and other capital in the development of a Canadian economy.

Canadian immigration has been marked by dramatic historical events. One of the earliest of these was the settlement of what is now Quebec by the courageous French farmers, hunters and trappers who developed the land in the face of hostile Indians and travelled the vast interior (the Northwest) in search of trade and furs. Another was the arrival, mainly in the Maritimes and Ontario, of thousands of British subjects who fled from the American colonies after the rebellion. It has been said that following this exodus there were more Harvard graduates in Nova Scotia than in Massachusetts. By Confederation much of the land in Ontario had been taken up, frequently through the operation of companies formed for the purpose of land development, such as the Canada Land Company. This was the period of feverish building of railways in Ontario, Quebec and the Maritimes, and immigration was directly linked to their use.

None of these events equalled in drama the opening of the west at the end of the last century, following the building of a transcontinental railway. Even before this there had been pioneers. A party of 250 immigrants left their homes in Upper and Lower Canada in 1862 to go overland by way of Fort Garry and Edmonton to Kamloops and the Cariboo. This group of men, later known as the Overlanders, pioneered an immigrant road to British Columbia.

Their efforts were recorded in history as the first organized attempt to seek access to the western part of Canada. But the major event of this phase followed the commitment to build a railway to unite east and west at the time of Confederation. When completed it provided the means for emigration to the west as well as an economic link between the eastern markets and western resources.

Even the building of the railway itself required immigration. Sir John A. Macdonald's national dream of building a transcontinental railway would have remained a dream had it not been for the 15,000 Chinese immigrants who were brought in to provide the unskilled labour required to complete the Canadian Pacific Railway through the rugged terrain of the Canadian Rockies.

The railway and low east-west rates facilitated the movement of immigrants to the west at the time of peak Canadian immigration just prior to World War I, previously mentioned. Its unique aspect was the appeal of the Interior Minister Sir Clifford Sifton, for the "stalwart peasants in sheepskin coats" from Germany, the Ukraine and Eastern Europe. The success of this effort to settle the west with experienced and competent farmers triggered the wheat boom at the turn of the century that was responsible for unparalleled economic prosperity in Canada that followed.

While this was the boom period of Canadian immigration, there have been other times when it became significant in our economic life, as shown by Table 2. These periods coincide closely with economic conditions in Canada. The numbers increased during the twenties, fell to historic lows during the depression and World War II, revived quickly following the war, slumped off in the early sixties but have remained at a fairly high level since then, with fluctuations from year to year.

Advantages and Disadvantages of Immigration

In this age of econometrics there have been attempts to measure the economic effects of immigrations, with results that are far from conclusive.(1)

A great many different variables have to be taken into account in such computations. It is obvious that the basic issue is to examine the effects of an increase in population beyond that which would otherwise have taken place. A basic question to be asked therefore is whether *any* increase in population is desirable for a given country. Obviously for some very crowded already over-populated countries the answer would be in the negative; for others it would depend on the circumstances of the time. *What annual increment of population is desirable for long run growth? What type of immigrant is available? What are the needs of the economy for labour input? What effect will immigration have on labour supply? Will the addition of skilled immigrants create employment or unemployment? What effect will there be on inflation? Will population growth add to aggregate demand by increasing consumption? Will it require additional investment expenditures, both public and private? Will there be any appreciable effect on the balance of payments?*

These and many other questions would have to be answered, and obviously the results would vary with time and place. A conclusion that seemed appropriate for a period of hectic economic activity in a country could be quite unacceptable for conditions of business slow-down in the same country.

In considering issues of this kind in the brief descriptions we attempt in "Understanding Economics" it is obvious that we can only touch superficially on some of the main points. In what follows we concentrate on the arrival of immigrant workers and their families after World War II. In particular we shall concentrate on the impact of immigration on Canada's population base; on the size, structure and composition of the labour force; and finally, on some sectors of the national economy.(2)

Canada as a Way Station

Before going on to these economic questions an extremely relevant aspect of Canadian population movement must be introduced, since it has an important bearing. This is the fact that while immigration into Canada has been heavy from the beginning there has also been a substantial outflow of population. In some periods this has equalled or even exceeded the inflow. Figures are not completely reliable because Canada has never

1. For a review of Canadian attempts see Marr, William L. **Labour Market and other Implications of Immigration Policy for Ontario**; Working Paper No. 1/76, Ontario Economic Council, mainly chapter VI.

2. For a more detailed but readable study of British postwar experience see **Economic Issues in Immigration**, Institute of Economic Affairs, 1970, London, England.

kept data on departures (emigration) from the country. However, estimates can be made based on other available figures which probably reveal the story fairly accurately.

All the estimates agree that between 1852 and 1901, although (as Table 2 shows) two million immigrants came to Canada, more than this number left the country, possibly up to 2-1/2 million. This was a dull period in the Canadian economy and an active one in the American, where good land was still available, higher wages were being paid and there was a perception of its being the land of greatest opportunity.

It was not until the rapid influx of the period immediately prior to World War I that immigrants began to stay in Canada and make it their home. Since then there has always been a net "migration" (more immigrants staying than emigrants leaving) except during the hard years of the 1931-1941 depression, when there was a net outflow. In recent years with greater economic development in Canada and stricter conditions on entry into the United States the "net migration" estimates have increased sharply.

It is interesting to speculate on the social and economic consequences for Canada of the "way-stop" role it has played in the past. For example, in the period 1921 to 1930 nearly 1-1/4 million immigrants came to Canada, but it is estimated that "net migration" (i.e. immigration less emigration) during the same decade was only about 100,000. It can only be assumed that over a million people came to Canada during this decade with no intention of staying here, but simply to move on as quickly as possible. Or else the descendants of earlier immigrants decided to move on. At least a massive coming and going is implied by the data. Small wonder that until recently we have been having trouble with establishing a national identity.

Table 3 gives the available figures for natural growth and for "net migration" for periods since 1881 as an illustration of the importance of "natural increase" in our population growth as contrasted with "net migration". A more detailed table of annual figures since 1946 is given in Table 5.

Table 3

Estimated Population Growth

by Natural Increase and Net Migration

	Natural Increase (000)	Net Migration (000)
1881-1891	669	- 205
1891-1901	654	- 181
1901-1911	711	+ 715
1911-1921	1,036	+ 113
1921-1931	1,389	+ 103
1931-1941	1,352	- 112
1941-1951	1,972	+ 169
1951-1961	3,113	+1,109
1961-1971	2,656	+ 716

Source: Urquhart, M.C., Ed. **Historical Statistics of Canada.** Toronto. Macmillan, 1971.

Postwar Immigration

Since World War II annual immigration into Canada has averaged slightly over 135,000 people. This figure does not, however, reflect the magnitude of the fluctuations, which have been quite significant. From a low of 64,127 in 1947 to a high of 282,164 in 1957.

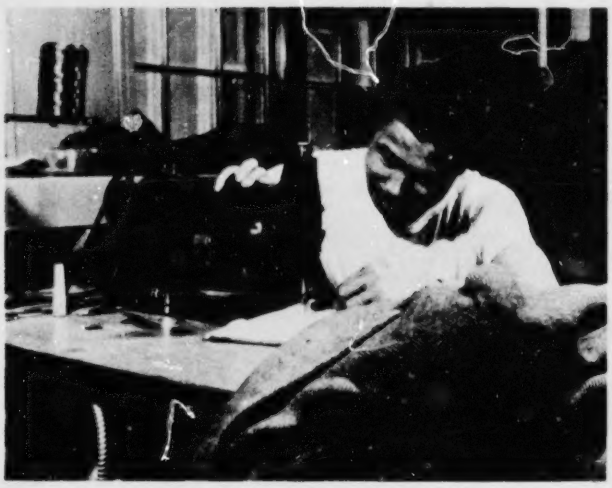
For the first time since the period immediately after 1900 this flow of immigration made a substantial contribution to population growth. Population growth during the fifties and sixties was exceptionally high – 30 per cent during the fifties and 19 per cent during the sixties. This represented a total growth of over 50 per cent, an explosion which has contributed both to our economic expansion and to some of our economic problems. As contrasted with most previous periods when net migration contributed 5 - 10 per cent of the total growth in population, it accounted in the fifties for 26 per cent and in the sixties for 21 per cent. Thus these two decades were a period of enormous consequence for Canada, not only in terms of total increase in population but also in terms of the major role played by net migration in that growth.

The qualitative impact of immigration on the population base is more difficult to measure. It includes changes dependent largely on intangible factors such as the effect of age, education, skills, ethnic origin, life styles, spending and saving habits, and so on.

The changing pattern of annual immigration inflows has been particularly interesting since 1946 in terms of the policy shift with respect to the national origins of prospective immigrants. Prior to 1962 Canadian immigration policy favoured immigrants from Great Britain, France and the United States of America; and to a lesser degree those from other European nations. At that time, immigrants from Asia and Africa were essentially excluded. Since 1962, however, with the official removal of racial discrimination from the regulations, immigration to Canada from countries in Asia, Africa and the Middle East has increased.

The east coast fishing industry.

Immigrants bring their own trades and skills to the Canadian labour force.



Impact on Labour Force

There is no doubt that immigration has made a significant contribution toward Canada's labour force since 1945. The available statistical data provide an interesting look at the occupational categories that immigrants to Canada intend to enter. Although in some cases language difficulties, national or provincial licensing and certification regulations, and inadequate qualifications may act as a barrier for an immigrant to enter his or her intended occupation, it is generally surmised that even those who are prevented from entering their intended occupations end up doing related work.

In terms of age groups and occupational affiliation, immigrants to Canada in the post World War II period have generally exhibited the same characteristics as immigrants to other countries such as the United States, Australia and New Zealand. The majority of immigrants during this period tended to be in the working-age category, well educated and in the professional, technical and skilled occupational groups.

The large influx of working-age immigrants to Canada during this time has led to a higher proportion of labour force entrants among immigrants than among the native born. In short, statistics reveal that immigration has been instrumental in increasing the ratio of workers to the total population in Canada – largely explained by the fact that most immigrants are in the working-age category and are eager to find a job to support themselves and their families.

There are, of course, significant regional differences in the immigrant population across Canada. This paper cannot attempt to go into the individual ratios of immigrants to the total working force or of workers to a regional population. Nor, indeed, can it study the disparate cultural makeup of the far-flung areas of the country.

The most recent immigrants have been concentrated in the skilled areas. Over the last thirty years, the number of unskilled immigrants to enter Canada makes up 25 per cent of the total figures. The ratio of unskilled immigrants to the total figure has changed considerably during that time, however, tapering from 40 per cent at the beginning of this period to less than 10 per cent towards the end. On the other hand, the number of professional and technical workers has increased from less than 10 per cent to close to 30 per cent during the same time.

The major shifts in occupational trends occurred in 1952 and again in 1967; at both times immigration regulations had been changed in order to emphasize, within the selection criteria, such aspects as education, skills and qualifications of applicants. Perhaps the most explicit recognition of this feature was the 1967 regulations which adopted the point system as a means of assessing a prospective immigrant's suitability and capacity to find appropriate employment in Canada. This was effected by awarding one-fifth of the total assessment points to occupational demand and employment opportunities in the area of destination.

Very good figures are now kept on the intended occupations of immigrants, and the growing emphasis on skills and professional qualifications is clearly evident in the analysis given in Table 4, taken from several reports of the Department of Manpower and Immigration. Of those destined for the labour force nearly all categories indicate skilled rather than unskilled labour.

The change can only be roughly indicated, since earlier figures are not in the same detail. In 1952, a quarter century ago, the total of "labour force" immigration was not far off 1975-76 (84,000 compared

Table 4
IMMIGRATION TO CANADA BY (INTENDED) OCCUPATIONAL GROUP

Occupational Groups	1946-1955	1956-1969	Fiscal Year 1971-1972	Fiscal Year 1972-1973	Fiscal Year 1973-1974	Fiscal Year 1974-1975
Managerial (1)	4,213	21,172	3,532	4,439	6,304	5,731
Professional	44,526	211,115	15,708	15,214	20,704	20,498
Clerical	46,788	132,268	9,072	9,074	14,438	15,334
Commercial & Financial	25,731	38,626	2,404	2,526	4,254	3,966
Service & Recreation (2)	69,447	131,586	6,179	7,039	11,687	11,656
Transport & Communication	15,332	20,538	746	837	1,211	1,506
Agriculture	138,195	56,756	2,082	2,185	3,329	2,256
Fishing, Trapping & Logging	12,928	3,111	77	98	273	253
Mining	10,029	6,344	214	143	177	242
Manufacturing, Mechanical & Construction	200,611	328,455	15,045	16,078	33,169	30,263
Labourers	58,743	102,382	1,233	1,297	653	4,197
Others	9,255	6,751	1,976	2,677	5,529	6,483
Total Workers	635,798	1,059,104	58,268	61,607	101,764	102,385
Total Non Workers	586,521	985,721	59,300	63,120	[illegible]	114,226
Wives	252,347	379,035	20,823	21,640	29,754	32,810
Children	289,298	513,140	28,985	31,591	48,641	63,201
Others	44,876	93,546	9,492	9,889	23,151	18,215
Grand Total	1,222,319	2,044,825	117,568	124,727	203,310	216,611

(1) Available as separate occupational group since 1953 only
(2) Includes domestic servants

Sources: Manpower and Immigration, 1972 Immigration
Dept. of Manpower and Immigration, Annual Reports 1972-73, 1974-75

The occupational mix of immigrants to Canada has changed significantly in the postwar period. For example, look at the number of newcomers in the above table who told officials that they intended to work in agriculture. During the period 1946-55, these people made up more than 20 percent of those who intended to work. By 1974-75, only about 2 percent of immigrants destined for the labour force expected to work in agricultural occupations. In contrast, the managerial and professional occupations accounted for only about 7 percent of the working immigrants between 1946 and 1955. In 1974-75, managerial and professional occupations were named by 25 percent of those destined to the labour force as their intended occupational slot

with 75,000), so that the two years are comparable.(3) The one big change was in the number destined for farming – 16,971 in 1952 and 1,350 in 1975-76;(4) in 1952, 7,054 were shown as "professional", whereas in 1975-76 it is easy to identify groups totalling three or four times that number in the same category. Another identifiable group was clerical – 6,900 in 1952 and 11,060 in 1975-76. In 1952, 19,586 were shown as "unskilled or semi-skilled", whereas in 1975-76 there is no such category, although undoubtedly some of the immigrants in certain categories would be of this class.

Attempts have been made to place a value on the skills acquired by immigration. An important factor is the saving in Canadian private and public expenditures on medical fees, housing, shelter, clothing, education, etc., and other expenses that are normally incurred in raising an infant to working age. Such costs are borne by the immigrant's country of origin and the immigrant's country of destination reaps the benefits. The economic significance of this imputed saving, particularly in the case of highly skilled and professional people, has been estimated to be in the range of several hundred thousand dollars per person.

A recent study revealed that the cost for Canada of "producing" the output of skills that were imported in the form of *university education alone* would have amounted to $532 million (in 1961 prices) from 1946-1963. These figures took into account only the direct costs in the form of instruction, education facilities, books, etc. that would provide an equivalent number of Canadians with an education comparable to that possessed by the immigrants in question. It has further been estimated that an indirect cost of $455 million would have been incurred in the form of earnings foregone by those who would have occupied themselves with study instead of work.

3. 1952 figures – **Historical Statistics of Canada**, edited by M.C. Urquhart and K.A.H. Buckley. Toronto, MacMillan of Canada, 1965.

4. 1975-76 figures – **1976 Immigration Statistics**. Ottawa, Department of Manpower and Immigration, 1977.

Another research project entitled **Studies in the Economics of Education**, conducted by Bruce Wilkinson for the Federal Department of Labour, estimated that the value of education of all immigrants arriving in Canada between 1951-61, measured in terms of the costs that would have been incurred in providing a comparable educational attainment in Canada, was $5.9 billion. After deducting the education costs of Canadian-born emigrants to the United States, which have been estimated at between $980 million and $1.7 billion, the study concluded that the net education value of immigrants less Canadian-born emigrants for that decade ranged between $4.2 and $4.9 billion.

On the other hand, it has been suggested that in evaluating these costs and benefits one must recognize that when educational costs are borne in another country, Canada loses the economic benefits of the teaching jobs and other "services" that go into training a productive adult.

Brain Drain

Canada for years has suffered from a "brain drain" to the United States. As net migration figures indicate, the outflow has been in many periods nearly as intensive as the inflow. In more recent years, however, Canada has been accused of being on the receiving end of the "brain drain". Strong evidence of the inflow of professional talent to Canada is the reaction of governments of less developed countries to the drain of their own highly trained and well educated citizens. The issue has been before the United Nations, with Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States being cited as principal beneficiaries of the "drain". During the past decade, Canadian immigration policy has strongly favoured the highly educated, professional and skilled groups of potential immigrants. An applicant's acceptance has been based significantly on his or her occupational skills and other selective manpower considerations of the current point system.

In the case of immigration from developing countries it has been estimated that the dollar value of Canada's gain in manpower resources far exceeds her contributions in foreign aid to those countries.

Humanitarian Immigration

An aspect of recent immigration policy that is an offset to any ill effects of the so-called "brain drain" is the opening of our borders to the victims of oppression in other countries. Canada has demonstrated strong humanitarian sentiments in accepting large numbers of individuals and their families wishing to escape from the conditions of war, persecution and oppression in their own countries and seeking entry into Canada as refugees. The principal refugee movements to Canada during the postwar period were:

Hungarian Refugee Movement (1956-57)	–	38,000
Czechoslovakian Refugee Movement (1968-69)	–	12,000
Tibetan Movement (1970)	–	228
Movements of Asians from Uganda (1972-73)	–	7,000
Chilean Movement (1973-75)	–	2,832
South Vietnamese and Cambodian Movement (1975-77)	–	5,172

Source: Department of Manpower and Immigration, Ottawa. Statistical data compiled up to June 1977.

Chilean refugees arriving at Toronto International Airport.

20

Public Attitudes Toward Immigration

How do Canadians perceive immigration, economic conditions and Canada's population level? Gallup Polls conducted in Canada since World War II reveal that public attitude toward "What constitutes a desirable population level" has changed quite drastically.

In 1945, 65 per cent of those polled wanted a much larger population while 21 per cent thought population levels at that time were fine as they were. Today, Canadians express the view, by a two-to-one majority, that Canada's present population level is quite adequate and should be maintained rather than increased.

It is generally believed, however, that given several options regarding the levels of immigration inflow, Canadian public opinion would lean toward limited or restricted immigration, but remain opposed to any massive influx of immigrants. In a study made by the Department of Manpower and Immigration between 1969 and 1972, a control group of Canadians was asked to express attitudes toward immigration. The largest group of answers came in the "qualified yes" category. They gave approval to immigration with the qualification that it be restrictive and selective, and that it fluctuate with the needs of Canada, i.e., that immigrants could find employment without taking jobs from Canadians. In this respect, Canadians may not have changed their attitude about immigration since the early 1940s, when about-one-half of those surveyed by a Gallup Poll thought that, after the war, Canada should have selective immigration rather than an open or closed door policy.

It is important to note that public opinion has often been swayed by the impression Canadians have of immigrants. In particular, those who feel that immigrants have made a contribution were more positive about the need for immigrants than those who perceived them as being a burden on the Canadian economy. Another feature determining Canadian attitudes on immigration is the influence of socio-economic characteristics. Public polls indicate that those of higher education, job status, and income are more favourably inclined toward the need for and the contribution of immigrants. Interestingly enough, these public polls do not indicate that any differences on immigration issues emerge as a result of a difference in political affiliation.

One persistent feature of Canadian public opinion on the issue of immigration is the negative attitude maintained by members of the public who regard immigrants as posing an economic, social, cultural or political threat. Prevailing economic conditions and the rate of unemployment are key variables in determining "immigration attitudes" for a majority of Canadians. When the Canadian economy is buoyant and unemployment low, public opinion in Canada is more tolerant towards new immigration. On the other hand, during periods of economic recession of a particularly prolonged nature, public opinion shifts markedly against it.

In the course of time the names associated with public outbursts on the pros and cons of immigration have changed but the issues as perceived by both camps remain essentially unchanged.

An Asian family arriving in Canada

Impact on Economic Growth

As was said earlier, econometric models designed to show the economic impact of immigration have produced mixed results. We can only deduce the potential impact that migrants may have had on the Canadian economy by analysing the various components of postwar growth and the extent to which these components were influenced by immigration.

One important element has been the impact of capital. When immigrants arrive in Canada, they bring with them assets accumulated in the land of their birth. The value of these assets varies from year to year, depending on the number of people immigrating and the conditions they left behind. From 1973 to 1977, however, these transfers averaged $650 thousand per year. Against these amounts, it should be noted that immigrants often send money to their families in "the old country". Although the precise amount of these remittances is unknown, expert opinion is that they are very small relative to assets brought in.

There has been a significant inflow of immigrants who intend to join the managerial occupations, but present knowledge of the supply and demand determinants of managerial talent and technology are too rudimentary to allow us to make any conclusive observations. The importance of a pool of managerial talent has generally been stressed as a necessary, but not sufficient, condition for ensuring economic growth and development. At the present time, research on the impact of immigrant managerial talent that has entered Canada is limited to the identification of prominent personalities who have made important contributions in the various sectors of the national economy.

Consumption is another aspect to be considered. A broadened population base through the influx of immigrant workers and their families is likely to trigger an increase in the demand for goods and services. From personal observation, the pattern of consumer spending for immigrant families adheres to two distinct cycles. The first cycle denotes an increase in the demand for basic necessities such as food, clothing and shelter (mostly rented). The second cycle is often more significant in terms of its economic effects and is concentrated on such expenditures as specialized medical services, transportation (car purchases) and shelter (buying or building a home).

It is interesting to note that for most recently arrived immigrants expenditures tend to exceed their income. The need for such expenditures is undoubtedly due to the high cost of providing for transportation, shelter, and clothing in Canada. In addition, the professional and skilled immigrants, forming the bulk of the immigrant inflow, are likely to have some money saved up or to be able to borrow funds. Both of these possibilities would explain the excess of expenditures over incomes in the first few years after the arrival of an immigrant family.

In short, there is no doubt that immigration has played an important role in Canada's history and economic development. Furthermore, Canadian immigration policy has been influenced by economic forces of a short-term perspective. In essence, the selection criteria applied to prospective immigrants were aimed at providing considerable flexibility in the implementation of immigration policy with a view towards turning the immigration tap on during years of rapid economic expansion and off during years of economic recession.

The economic impact of immigration on Canada's postwar development has contributed toward a larger and more flexible labour force as well as toward increased economic growth and higher per capita incomes. Immigration has been instrumental in increasing the population base, thereby increasing the national market and, to a certain degree, allowing for economies of scale.

The special characteristics of the immigrant workers have also enhanced not only the quantitative aspects of the labour force but also the educational and skill quotient. Finally, labour shortages and bottlenecks in certain rapidly expanding sectors of the economy have been relieved by immigration – a sequence that is, in itself, an important factor in Canada's postwar economic development.

Few economic gains are without their price, however, and this is as true of immigration as of any other field. While Canada has

Table 5

COMPONENTS OF CANADIAN POPULATION, IMMIGRATION AND LABOUR FORCE, 1946-1975

Year	Population	Annual Population Increase	Natural Increase	Immigration	Estimated Emigration	Estimated Net Migration	Labour Force
	(000's)	(000's)	(000's)	(000's)	(000's)	(000's)	(000's)
1946	12,200	250	216.1	71.7	37.8	33.9	4,829
1947	12,450	260	241.8	64.1	45.9	18.2	4,942
1948	12,710	288	228.4	125.4	65.8	59.6	4,988
1949	12,998	260	242.5	95.2	77.7	17.5	5,055
1950	13,607	263	247.8	73.9	58.7	15.2	5,163
1951	13,870	407	255.3	194.4	42.7	151.7	5,223
1952	14,277	405	277.2	164.5	36.7	127.8	5,324
1953	14,682	423	290.1	168.9	36.0	132.9	5,397
1954	15,105	430	311.3	154.2	35.5	118.7	5,493
1955	15,535	384	314.5	109.9	40.4	69.5	5,610
1956	15,919	433	318.8	164.9	50.7	114.2	5,782
1957	16,352	555	332.5	282.2	59.7	222.5	6,008
1958	16,907	411	334.9	124.9	48.8	76.1	6,137
1959	17,318	392	339.4	106.9	54.3	52.6	6,242
1960	17,710	382	338.9	104.1	61.0	43.1	6,411
1961	18,092	350	334.7	71.7	56.4	15.3	6,521
1962	18,442	345	326.0	74.6	55.6	19.0	6,615
1963	18,787	355	318.4	93.2	56.6	36.6	6,748
1964	19,142	359	307.0	112.6	60.6	52.0	6,933
1965	19,501	356	269.7	146.8	60.5	86.3	7,141
1966	19,876	371	237.8	194.7	61.5	133.2	7,420
1967	20,228	353	220.6	222.9	90.5	132.4	7,694
1968	20,581	307	211.1	184.0	88.1	95.9	7,919
1969	20,888	294	215.2	161.5	82.7	78.8	8,162
1970	21,182	283	213.0	147.7	78.0	70.0	8,374
1971	21,465	259	203.0	121.9	66.0	56.0	8,637*
1972	21,724	260	185.0	122.0	47.0	75.0	8,918
1973	21,984	323	183.0	184.0	44.0	140.0	9,321
1974	22,307	352	179.0	218.0	45.0	173.0	9,704
1975	22,659	339	192.0	188.0	41.0	147.0	10,060

*Due to change in the Labour Force Survey in 1975, the labour force statistics are not strictly comparable from 1946-1975. The different estimates have been artificially linked at 1971, so that on this table, that year's labour force number is a compromise between two other estimates and won't be found in any other publications on the subject. But it's not much different from official estimates.

gained a larger and more flexible work force it is a popular belief that immigration has contributed to present levels of unemployment. On this there is no agreement among the experts. Two of the econometric models reviewed by Marr supported this conclusion; another two did not. Perhaps it is more relevant to view the position by sectors rather than in aggregate terms. The intense activity in the construction industry in the sixties, for example, was able to absorb the very heavy flow of immigrants intended for it. The current lower demand for the construction and hence the workers means that there is a surplus labour supply for this skill. Some people point to another possible problem in importing skills of this kind. They claim that it discourages training in Canada because an immediate solution is available elsewhere and so the long-run answer is not sought at home.

From all this a more general statement can be made of a basic issue; there are times of rapid growth in the life of every country when available resources are insufficient to meet the need, and outside help must be obtained. When this period is ended it may appear that some of these acquired re-

sources, including labour resources, are no longer needed. The question then is whether the previous contribution to the economy has been enough to warrant the retention of this labour, possibly at considerable public expense.

Canada's approach to this question, dealing with economic forces in short term perspective, has not surprisingly, often failed to produce a perfect match between demand for and supply of labour, since this is seldom achieved in any country. The more relevant question – and the one much more difficult to answer – is whether in the long run immigration has resulted in a surplus of labour in Canada. On this one can only offer the thought that if it is not possible to achieve the perfect balance between demand and supply in economic terms a surplus is probably more desirable than a shortage.

In recent years, the majority of new immigrants have been well educated, highly skilled and professional individuals.

There are other aspects to immigration equally important as labour, since in recent years more than half the inflow has been non-worker. This flow is made up mainly of dependents of labour force immigrants and relatives of previous immigrants. As part of the family structure of the labour force such immigrants bring a desirable stability. Their arrival is not without its social consequences and economic costs, however. The need for rapid adjustment of educational systems in some areas of heavy concentration has been mentioned. The pressure has required development of special classes (largely remedial) for children of immigrants, the need for which in Ontario, Marr found, has been more pronounced for students from less developed countries.(5) However, in another major public area, the provision of health services, Marr concluded that the data did not show "that the foreign born have a higher level of use than the Canadian born. While a larger population increases the total use of health services, a larger population via immigration has not been shown to have any difference from a larger population via natural increase".(6) Ontario experience is significant because 60 per cent of postwar immigration has been to that province.

It is not the purpose of this "Understanding Economics" to settle whether immigration is a *good* or a *bad* thing in economic terms. Like most other aspects of economics it turns out that there is a good deal more to be said on all sides of the question than is assumed, but it also turns out that much more concrete information is needed before a balance of conclusions can be achieved. The main value of this short piece is that many of the key questions have been raised, and as future citizens the views of students on them are very relevant.

The balance of this "Understanding" gives the history of attempts of our own government to deal with these questions in its laws and regulations in the past.

5. Marr, op cit. Chapter VIII
6. Marr, op cit page 226

The Evolution of Canadian Immigration Policy

It is understandable that because of its role in developing the North American continent over a period of three and a half centuries immigration policy has always been a topic of considerable debate and controversy. Historically, whenever a public debate on the subject has been held in Canada, the atmosphere has been intensified with heated rhetoric and fiery accusations of racial discrimination.

A striking feature of Canada's immigration policy through the years is the absence of a clear consensus on what immigration should be or should do. Although until recently there has been a strong sentiment favouring population growth in the interest of Canada's sovereignty and economic development, there has never been a public view of a specific purpose for immigration as has been the case in some other countries.

In reviewing the different phases of Canadian immigration policy it should be stressed that entry into Canada from any part of the world has never been totally exempt from government influence. All immigration into Canada falls under the direct jurisdiction of the Immigration Act, the latter being the instrument through which the government in power enforces its decisions regarding who shall be admitted, how many shall come, whether they will be allowed to settle permanently or be granted temporary work permits. (The Federal Government and the provinces have concurrent jurisdiction over immigration under the BNA Act but the federal powers are overriding. Agreements affecting immigration have been made between the two levels of government and the existing agreement between Ottawa and Quebec has just been renewed and expanded.) In practice, however, governments have preferred to use regulations rather than detailed laws enacted by Parliament for establishing conditions for admission to Canada. The most important advantage of this course is that regulations, although they have the force of law, can be changed relatively easily and quickly so that new policies can be implemented without undue delay.*

As a result Canada has produced a steady flow of new regulations rather than new immigration acts over the years. In the 110 years since Confederation there have been only four major Canadian acts regarding immigration and two important collateral acts (the Chinese Immigration Act, 1885, and the Immigration Appeal Board Act, 1967).

As we have seen, until World War I, immigration policy had been geared mainly toward settling the west, building the transcontinental railway and generally increasing the population base. All of which would enhance Canada's wealth by opening new areas for resource development and creating a larger domestic market. The large influx of migrant workers that were arriving in Canada by 1907, as a result of Britain's severe depression, culminated in the Immigration Act of 1910 which endorsed the need for more explicit laws to regulate the inflow of a large number of arrivals. The 1910 Immigration Act is regarded by many as a significant landmark in Canadian immigration policy, since, with numerous but minor changes, it provided the basic guidelines up to the early 1950s.

The 1910 Act was designed to encourage the immigration of farmers, farm labourers, and female domestic servants from the United States, the British Isles, and certain Northern European countries, namely, France, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Germany, Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Iceland. It also established three categories of undesirables. First, those who appeared to be physically, mentally, or morally unfit. Second, those belonging to nationalities unlikely to assimilate and who consequently would prevent the building-up of a united nation of people of similar customs and ideals. Third, those who, from their mode of life and because of their particular occupations and skills, were likely to crowd into urban centres and bring about a state of congestion which might result in unemployment and a lowering of the standard of living in Canada.

**As an example of this, in March 1978, Federal Immigration Minister J. S. Cullen tabled a new set of immigration regulations in the House of Commons, tying immigrant selection criteria closer to labour and population demands and requiring foreign students and temporary workers to get visas abroad. Effective April 10, the regulations established a closer working arrangement concerning both quotas and criteria, with provincial governments.*

The principal policy tenets of that Act regard admission to Canada as a privilege, not a right. They are based in a philosophy of avoiding a fundamental change in the character of the Canadian society and economy. This was reflected in the attempt to regulate the inflow of migrants in order to allow entry only to those numbers who would be readily absorbed by the economy.

Within these constraints, for more than four decades, Canadian immigration policy was guided by selection criteria designed to meet national considerations and based on the applicants' racial origins and the labour market's occupational needs. During this period, flexibility in adjudication was regarded as an important cornerstone of Canada's immigration policy.

Immigration historians regard the relatively few years from the turn of the century to World War I as the most significant in the evolution of immigration statutes. It was also the period when the principle of selective immigration was introduced. This feature quickly became a fundamental cornerstone of all ensuing immigration policy. It should also be noted that this period recorded some of the largest annual movements of immigrants to Canada. 1914-1945 – encompassing two wars, a boom, a depression – was an uncertain period in Canadian immigration. Regarded as a tool of land settlement it was organized to serve that objective. During these three decades approximately two million immigrants came to Canada, an average of less than 65,000 a year. Only ten of these years saw more than 100,000 immigrants with a high of 166,783 in 1928 and a low of 7,576 in 1942. British and American immigrants were the most favoured category of entrants. Northern Europeans were relatively well received and other Europeans were accepted if the preceding nationalities were not willing to migrate. Non-whites remained inadmissible. The main development in immigration policy during this period was the introduction of the principle of sponsored immigration and of entry visas, acquired at Canadian embassies abroad, as an attempt to control immigration at source.

Canadian immigration policy evolved most rapidly in the time from World War II until 1961. (see Table 5) It had to keep pace with the structural changes affecting the national economy and the changing patterns of international migration. Specifically, substantial revisions and alterations were required in both policy and organization in order to reconcile the changing Canadian needs and priorities with the educated professional and skilled immigrants that were now seeking admission to Canada.

More liberal attitudes were sought by Canadians who believed that immigration was necessary to populate and develop the country, by ethnic groups and individuals who were determined to rescue their relatives and compatriots from the chaos that emerged after hostilities in wartorn Europe and by foreign governments hoping to relieve serious problems of overpopulation and unemployment by allowing their citizens to emigrate.

Perhaps the most important speech on immigration policy to be made in Canada in the postwar period was that of Prime Minister William Lyon MacKenzie King in Parliament on May 1, 1947. This comprehensive statement on the government's intentions regarding immigration indicated that:

"The policy of the government is to foster the growth of the population of Canada by the encouragement of immigration. The government will seek by legislation, regulation, and vigorous administration, to ensure the careful selection and permanent settlement of such numbers of immigrants as can advantageously be absorbed in our national economy."

Shortly after this statement was made, developments in the immigration scene began to unfold rapidly. Non-agricultural immigration started, open to many skills and occupations; the role and influence of the Department of Labour became increasingly pronounced, and the church and ethnic groups were invited to participate in the immigration process. Furthermore, in the organizational sphere, a high level interdepartmental committee was instituted to advise the government on immigration policy, especially with respect to labour flows. This interdepartmental committee was composed of representatives of the Departments of Mines and Resources,

Immigrants bring some special skills to Canadian industry.

Labour, External Affairs, Health and Welfare, and Secretary of State. Among other things, the Committee was instrumental in devising a system of allotting quotas to particular occupational groups. Finally, the increasing importance of immigration in this period led to legislation in 1949 to create a new federal Department of Citizenship and Immigration.

A fundamental revision of the Immigration Act introduced in 1952 was the first major departure from the basic policy regulations that emerged in the early 1900s. The new Act was characterized as a sharper instrument of control and enforcement. It also eliminated and revised a few categories and established the assisted passage scheme.

The period 1946-61 recorded an inflow of two million immigrants to Canada with an annual average of 130,000. There were wide fluctuations, however, from one year to the next. For example, 74,000 immigrants arrived in Canada in 1950, the figure jumped to 194,000 in 1951. Also from a high of 282,000 immigrants to Canada in 1957 immigration dwindled to 125,000 in 1958. This is a particularly noteworthy illustration of the tap-on, tap-off principle of immigration that was pursued in the postwar era in an attempt to correlate immigration flows solely to short-term manpower needs.

In 1962, a change was made toward a policy of universal admission and unsponsored immigrants were selected primarily on the basis of educational background, training and skills rather than race, colour and country of origin.

1967 saw the release of the **White Paper on Immigration,** expansionist in its philosphical overtones, emphasizing the traditional merits of immigration such as population growth, expansion of the domestic market, lower per capita costs of government and services, and cultural enrichment. Despite its positive attitude in recommending increased immigration, the White Paper stressed the fact that considerable disadvantages would be encountered if Canada pursued a non-selective immigration policy. Furthermore, it emphasized the need for upgrading the employability of the labour force and the vulnerability of the unskilled and semi-skilled to rapid technological change. A careful examination reveals its awareness of the interface between immigration and manpower policy. The White Paper advocated a clear distinction between those immigrants who would compete in the economic market place, and those who would not. Education and skills, it maintained, were the best guarantee that the former could adapt to the realities of Canada's economic life. The White Paper also unambigu-

ously heralded the end of racial discrimination in immigration policy.

The White Paper was referred to a Special Parliamentary Committee which was highly critical of the proposals for sponsored and unsponsored immigration, particularly the latter. These criticisms reflected the presentations from ethnic and church groups, labour and management organizations, a provincial government, and other groups and individuals. It was felt that the education criterion was too rigid and inaccurate, particularly because it seemed to ignore opportunities for people with little education or training, but with initiative and determination to become creditable citizens. Although the Committee never submitted a final report, its proceedings had a formative influence on the regulations that ultimately evolved in 1967.

These regulations introduced four new elements to immigration selection.

First, discrimination on the basis of race or nationality was eliminated for all classes of immigrants.

Second, the criteria for unsponsored immigrants, renamed independent applicants, were set out in considerable detail in immigration regulations for the first time, in the form of nine factors against which applicants were to be assessed on their short-term and long-term prospects for successful establishment in Canada.

The unit assessment scheme, or point system as it is sometimes referred to, was made up of the following categories: 1) education and training – up to 20 assessment units to be awarded on the basis of one unit for each successful year of formal education or occupational training; 2) personal assessment – up to 15 units on the basis of the immigration officer's assessment of the applicant's adaptability, motivation, initiative, and other similar qualities; 3) occupational demand – up to 15 units if demand for the applicant's occupation is strong within Canada and on the basis of whether the occupation is skilled or unskilled; 4) occupational skill – up to 10 units for the professional, ranging down to one unit for the unskilled; 5) age – 10 units for applicants under age 35 with one unit deducted for each year over age 35; 6) arranged employment – 10 units if the applicant has prearranged employment in Canada; 7) knowledge of French and English – up to 10 units, dependent upon the degree of fluency in French and/or English; 8) relative – up to 5 units if the applicant has a relative in Canada able to help him become established but unprepared or unable to sponsor or nominate him; 9) employment opportunities in area of destination – up to 5 units if the applicant intends to go to an area of Canada where there is generally strong demand for labour.

Under this scheme an independent applicant was expected to score at least 50 points out of a maximum of 100 points in order to be allowed entry into Canada. There is no doubt that the unit assessment scheme stresses the significance of the economic and socio-economic factors in the selection of desirable immigrants, while at the same time adopting some degree of flexibility to allow for the changing needs of the Canadian economy.

Third, the sponsored class was retained subject to the modifications proposed in the **White Paper on Immigration** and a few minor additions. Also a new class of nominated relatives (essentially a hybrid between sponsored dependants and independent applicants) was created. In effect the new category of nominated relatives was subject to assessment only on the long-term selection criteria since it was assumed that their nominators' proposed assistance and advice replaced the short-term criteria.

Fourth, a specific provision was made to enable visitors to apply for immigrant status while in Canada. The same unit assessment requirements that applied in the case of an independent applicant, a sponsored dependent or a nominated relative were enforced in this category. It became obvious, however, that this category was a means of circumventing the normal procedures for applying from abroad and was subsequently discontinued.

It is often stated that the endorsement of the 1967 regulation attests to the emphasis placed by the government on the need for highly trained and educated immigrants with special skills. Furthermore, the emergence of a combined federal Department of Manpower and Immigration is regarded as of-

ficial recognition that Canadian immigration policy is largely based on economic considerations with special emphasis on manpower requirements. This feature of immigration policy has remained largely unaltered to date.

On February 3, 1975, the federal government encouraged a national debate on immigration through the release of the **Report of the Canadian Immigration and Population Study**. This was seen as a first step to the formulation of a new immigration act for Canada. The preface to the four-volume 585 page document stated that the principal *"aim of the Green Paper is to furnish Canadians with a foundation for constructive discussion of the role immigration policy should play in creating the sort of society they wish for themselves and their children . . . to help Canadians to think together about the many positive purposes immigration policy is designed to serve, and to explore the complex problems that need to be resolved in establishing policies that will best support these purposes."*

In an attempt to spearhead the public debate and bring the general discussions on the Green Paper in proper perspective, a Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons on Immigration was established in March 1975. The Committee held public meetings across Canada and on November 6, 1975 produced its Report to Parliament. The report indicated that members of the Committee were of the opinion that Canada should continue to be a country of immigration. In reaching this conclusion the Committee members were influenced by the demographic and economic arguments that had been put forward as well as the need to take account of family and humanitarian considerations. The central conclusion of the report is included in the following quotation:

"Since the Committee believes that a country as large and as thinly populated as Canada cannot afford a declining population, it concluded that Canada must continue to welcome a minimum of 100,000 immigrants a year as long as present fertility rates prevail. The Committee was divided on whether or not to suggest an upper limit either as a figure or as a percentage of the Canadian population. But there was agreement that the Government, when formulating a target each year . . . should not treat the minimum figure of 100,000 as an upper limit.

"The Committee rejected the view contained in some submissions that Canada should close its doors to immigrants. Equally, it concluded that in an age of vastly increased mobility Canada could not afford to have an "open door" policy, and would have to maintain controls over the total number of immigrants coming each year to Canada. The Committee's preference is for a policy of moderation between these two extremes."

Immigrants from Denmark, Greece, the Netherlands, Germany, China, Sweden and Egypt taking the oath of allegiance before receiving Canadian citizenship.

The Committee went on to elaborate on its proposal of targets and ceilings in order to regulate flows in such a way as to achieve the desired population growth. In setting the target figures the Committee suggested two principal indicators – demographic and economic. The demographic indicator would take into account the fertility rate, size, rate of change in size, age of population and rate of entry into and exit from the job market.

The economic indicator would take into account the level of economic activity and rates of employment and unemployment. The Committee's report does request, however, that the government's target figure be subject to parliamentary scrutiny. Once the annual target has been established, the likely number of sponsored applicants can be estimated and subtracted from the target. The resulting figure would be the ceiling on the number of independent applicants to be accepted that year. The Committee's report maintains that since refugee flows are rarely predictable they cannot form part of such calculations.

Introducing the new immigration bill to the House of Commons on November 24, 1976 the Minister of Manpower and Immigration said in part:

"The Bill explicitly affirms, for the first time, the fundamental objectives of Canadian immigration law; family reunification, non-discrimination, concern for refugees, and the promotion of Canada's economic, social, demographic and cultural goals . . .
Under the new Act, future immigration levels are made a matter for open decision and public announcement in advance by the government. We want to plan our immigration intakes over the years to come in such a way that Canadians will know what to expect, rather than being subjected to explosive increases and strains, followed by restrictions that result in disappointment and hardship to prospective immigrants and their relatives in Canada."

In the summer of 1977 the new immigration act was given Royal Assent and has become the fourth major immigration act in the 110 years of Canadian Confederation. Perhaps the most important feature of the 1976 Immigration Act is that it sets out quite explicitly the principles and objectives of Canadian immigration. Some of these objectives include:

1) demographic goals in respect of the size, rate of growth, structure and geographic distribution of the Canadian population;

2) to enrich and strengthen the cultural and social fabric of Canada, taking into account the federal and bilingual character of Canada;

3) to enhance the process of adaptation of new immigrants by promoting cooperation between the federal government and other levels of government and non-government agencies in Canada;

4) to ensure that any person who seeks admission to Canada on either a permanent or temporary basis is subject to standards of admission that exclude religion or sex;

5) to foster the development of a strong and viable economy and the prosperity of all regions in Canada.

Furthermore, this Act has come closer to embracing an annual global quota system of immigrant admissions to Canada than any other previous act in Canada's history. Thus, the 1976 Immigration Act specifies that the Minister of Manpower and Immigration, after consulting with the provinces regarding regional demographic needs and labour market considerations, shall present to the Parliament his recommendations specifying the number of immigrants that should be admitted in any particular year and the manner in which demographic considerations have been taken into account in determining that number.

Finally, another first in the latest Act is Canada's formal commitment to fulfill its international legal obligations with respect to refugees and to uphold its humanitarian tradition with respect to the displaced and persecuted persons.

Basically, the 1976 Immigration Act outlines the modern ramifications of immigration policy based on the trials and errors of many decades of experience in Canadian immigration. Furthermore, the new act attempts to provide us with a framework for future Canadian immigration policy that is sensitive to the realities of the last quarter of the twentieth century.

Acknowledgements

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